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The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2505th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 19 December 1983, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Max VAN DER STOEL (Netherlands).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2505)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. Complaint by Angola against South Africa:
   Letter dated 14 December 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16216)

The meeting was called to order at 11.15 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Complaint by Angola against South Africa:
Letter dated 14 December 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16216)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the 2504th meeting, I invite the representative of Angola to take a place at the Council table. I invite the representatives of Botswana, Brazil, India, Mauritania, Mozambique, Portugal, Somalia, South Africa, Yugoslavia and Zambia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Legwaila (Botswana), Mr. Maciel (Brazil), Mr. Krishnan (India), Mr. Ould Hamody (Mauritania), Mr. Dos Santos (Mozambique), Mr. Medina (Portugal), Mr. Adan (Somalia), Mr. von Schirnding (South Africa), Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) and Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Argentina, Canada, Egypt, the German Democratic Republic, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Nigeria and the United Republic of Tanzania in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Muñiz (Argentina), Mr. Pelletier (Canada), Mr. Khalil (Egypt), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Fafowora (Nigeria) and Mr. Rupia (United Republic of Tanzania) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to document S/16198, which contains the text of a letter dated 5 December from the representative of Angola addressed to the President of the Council.

4. The first speaker is the representative of Portugal. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

5. Mr. MEDINA (Portugal) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, first of all I should like to congratulate you on acceding to the presidency of the Council and, in expressing my gratitude for your delegation's constant co-operation with my own, wish you success in your work.

6. My delegation has three basic reasons for speaking in this debate.

7. The first is that we are aware of the duty incumbent upon Portugal to co-operate, within the Organization, in efforts to redress wrongs caused by violations of international law. Indeed, one of the United Nations main contributions to the international community has been its work to strengthen the system of *lex gentium*. This has been a contribution of tremendous importance, which has emphasized that the Organisation is based on the fundamental principles of the peaceful settlement of disputes, the non-use of force, the ter-

ritorial integrity of States, the implementation in good faith of international obligations and the respect for human rights. It is therefore the duty of every Member State to lend its full co-operation to promote scrupulous respect for the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and for decisions taken by the competent bodies of the Organization. It is also in the interests of the entire international community to control any situation that could lead to unforeseeable consequences for inter-State relations. Indeed, the time has come for States to discharge their moral and political responsibility to put an end to a critical problem that jeopardizes the authority, credibility and prestige of the United Nations, threatens to erode the United Nations system and increases the sense of failure caused by the constant thwarting of efforts to halt violation of the basic tenets of the Organization.

8. The second reason my delegation has for speaking in this debate is Portugal's deep concern over a confrontation fraught with serious repercussions that could jeopardize the entire international political order. Unless a solution is found through peaceful means, that confrontation, which has so often erupted into armed struggle, will threaten stability in southern Africa. The continued acts of aggression and the illegal occupation of part of the territory of Angola, against the backdrop of a policy of repression and intimidation, diminish respect for that country's national identity and its right to development. A solution is essential, for today it is clear that the only path open to us, in view of the deterioration of a situation that has been condemned almost universally, can only be the immediate halting of inadmissible actions that have already led to considerable loss of human life and essential economic resources. Moreover, this escalation of violence is likely to make settlement of a patently dangerous problem ever more difficult. This peril explains Portugal's unwavering support for all United Nations initiatives—or for any expression of concrete political will by the Governments concerned—aimed at avoiding armed confrontation, until the rights of the Angolan people are duly safeguarded and respected.

9. Portugal's devotion to the cause of the Angolan people—and this is the third reason for my delegation's participation in this debate—is also explained by the special ties between my country and southern Africa, in particular with the People's Republics of Angola and Mozambique. Indeed, as Portugal is linked to the African continent by age-old ties, it could not remain indifferent to anything that happens there—not only because of the consequences of such events on the international system, but also because of the cultural and historical ties that irrevocably bind my country to Africa.

10. Portugal is thus taking part in the just and legitimate defence of the causes that the peoples of that continent regard as essential to their future prospects and to their determination to define their own kind of society through the full exercise of their sovereignty. Therefore my delegation cannot fail to point out, with deep concern, the persistence of a situation entailing evident dangers for a region that should at all cost be spared a clash of extracontinental interests, insofar as those interests might try to influence the solution to the present problems without taking account of the realities and the interests of Africa.

11. The stability of these Governments, within the context of their national identities, is a prerequisite for the development of these countries, so greatly threatened by the situation prevailing in southern Africa. It is also a priority objective of the co-operation offered by Portugal, which is reflected most clearly in the presence there of many of our own nationals who are deeply committed to the process of regional development.

12. The urgent need for a just and swift settlement of the problem that has been brought before the Council is essential, because of the legal, political and moral imperatives flowing from the collective obligation and the very principles on which the United Nations is based. It is up to the Council to reaffirm its belief in those principles by supporting the legitimate demands of Angola.

13. My delegation hopes that this work will help to strengthen the prevailing awareness of the need to reach a peaceful, constructive, fair and lasting overall solution. Portugal, aware that no historical or legal argument can be invoked to delay such a solution, reiterates its total readiness to co-operate with the competent bodies of the United Nations and the Governments concerned in the achievement of an objective to which the peoples of southern Africa aspire in their desire to build a future of peace and prosperity together.

14. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Brazil. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

15. Mr. MACIEL (Brazil): I should like first to express to you, Sir, my Government's and my delegation's gratitude for this opportunity to speak to the Council on the case brought to it by Angola, a sister country of my own, and to say how happy I am to be speaking to the Council under your presidency.

16. It is a matter of great distress to us that this issue should once again have to be considered by the Council, to which the Government of Angola finds itself compelled to resort yet another time.

17. Indeed, South African military forays into Angola have become more frequent and have escalated lately, amounting to an actual occupation of Angolan territory. Such acts of force constitute persistent violations of international law and of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and represent a clear threat to international peace and security. The Brazilian Government vehemently condemns these acts,

which, in addition to their inherent illegality, substantially aggravate the situation in southern Africa. We cannot disregard the fact that at the root of South African aggressions against Angola and other countries of the area with which Brazil enjoys close relations of friendship and to which we express our full support lies the practice of *apartheid*, an unjustifiable and aberrant system which the Republic of South Africa strives to preserve.

18. The Brazilian nation repudiates racism in all its forms, especially when it is practised in an institutionalized manner, as is still the case under the *apartheid* South African régime. Brazil also repudiates the use of force in international relations, and it does so even more vigorously when force is used in a systematic manner as part of a cumulative process which originates in other illegal actions, such as the occupation of Namibia.

19. It is high time that effective international action was taken on the question. Countless meetings have been held without succeeding in putting an end to the series of illegal acts perpetrated by South Africa. The international debate, nevertheless, contributes to clarifying once and for all the real causes of the problem. It is worth repeating one more time that the international community must firmly condemn the irresponsible acts committed by the South African régime. It is necessary for South Africa to be convinced that it cannot proceed with impunity in its aggressive and unjustifiable actions.

20. The question now under discussion concerns not only the military aggression against Angola but also the situation in South Africa as a whole and, in the final analysis, the authority of the Security Council itself. It is our opinion that this organ should decisively condemn South Africa for its military aggression, demand the immediate withdrawal of its forces from Angola and have South Africa pay reparations for the loss of human lives as well as material losses it has inflicted upon Angola. Should the illegal occupation of Angolan territory by South Africa persist, we cannot see how the Council can fail to resort to the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter.

21. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Yugoslavia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

22. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): You bring to the presidency of the Council for the month of December, Sir, wisdom and understanding of the problems of peace and development that you showed so creatively while serving in high and responsible posts in the Government of the Netherlands.

23. Permit me to use the precious time of the Council also to express our deep appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Victor Gauci, representative of Malta. In guiding the work of the Council, he displayed a firm commitment to the sovereignty of countries and to the rights of peoples.

24. For far too long we have been witnessing the prolonged occupation of parts of southern Angola by the racist armed forces of South Africa. The aggressive policy of the Pretoria régime, its use of massive military force and the brutal oppression of the countries and peoples of southern Africa are continuing. This policy and these acts have grave consequences for peace and security in the region and beyond.

25. South Africa is constantly imposing war upon the neighbouring non-aligned, sovereign and independent countries. It is attempting to destabilize these countries by military, economic and political means, to achieve domination in the region and to maintain its colonial and expansionist policy, as well as the inhuman system of *apartheid*. It continues to wage war against Angola, flagrantly violating the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law and the very bases of international relations. This situation poses a direct challenge to the Organization and to the Council.

26. Disregarding the call for the withdrawal of military forces from Angolan territory and for scrupulous respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola, Pretoria continues to turn a deaf ear to all demands by the international community. Escalating its policy of State terrorism, it is organizing, financing, equipping and using armed groups and mercenaries in order to subvert the legitimate Government of Angola.

27. The South African régime uses the territory of Namibia as a springboard for aggression against Angola and other front-line States. This is calculated also to delay the process of the decolonization of Namibia and secure South Africa's permanent presence there, as well as its further exploitation of the people and natural resources in that area.

28. Since the first Conference of Heads of State or Government held at Belgrade 22 years ago, the non-aligned countries have time and again proved their solidarity with the people of southern Africa and the front-line States, as well as with all the peoples suffering foreign aggression and occupation.

29. The Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at their seventh Conference held at New Delhi in March this year strongly condemned the continued military occupation of a part of Angolan territory by the South African racist troops, which they considered an act of aggression against the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. They demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from Angolan territory, and decided to increase support for, and solidarity with, the people and Government of Angola in order to consolidate the national independence of that country and safeguard its sovereignty and territorial integrity. Sovereign and independent Angola needs peace above all, in order to be

able to turn to the problems of its economic and social development and meet the pressing needs of its population.

30. Massacres of defenceless women and children and the destruction of the economic infrastructure are designed to bring the people of Angola to their knees. But they know that the aggressor should be resisted and fought, and they do not want to give in to another colonial domination. They are fighting the battle that has been repeated so many times in recent history. We admire them, we support them, and they have our unreserved solidarity. We in Yugoslavia defended our own freedom and independence, and we know its significance and value.

31. We expect the Council to condemn South Africa, to halt its continuous aggression, to stop the illegal occupation of the territory of Angola and to call for full and adequate compensation by South Africa to Angola for the damage to life and property inflicted by this aggression.

32. The Council should enforce the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all racist military forces from Angolan territory, using all the means provided in the Charter with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression.

33. The recent statement by the Pretoria Government [*2504th meeting*] does not seem to express an honest intention to comply with the previous decisions of the Council. It is, rather, another attempt at prevarication and procrastination, with which South Africa is trying to cover up the long trail of destruction and suffering it has been sowing in Angola and all States in southern Africa that come within the reach of its military machine.

34. It is high time this crying injustice ended. South Africa should be told that this is no longer the time when the big and powerful do what they wish, and the smaller and weaker suffer what they must.

The meeting rose at 11.45 a.m.

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